

The Road to South African Freedom

PROGRAMME OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Part 3, pages 29-44

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THE FORCES OF CHANGE

The system of colonialism and racial oppression in our country is powerfully challenged and will be overthrown by the unified struggle of national liberation and working class movements that have grown, developed in experience and maturity and become steeled in many years of complex and difficult struggle.

The impact of capitalism destroyed the traditional economy and fabric of African tribal society. It scattered and disarmed the tribal armies. It turned the chiefs from people's leaders into instruments for implementing the laws devised by Whites. But the spirit of the African people was not broken. Patriotic African intellectuals, with the backing of many chiefs, began forming a new type of organisation, a national political organisation of the African people. A number of such bodies was formed, and in 1912 these united to form the African National Congress. The establishment of the A.N.C. is a profoundly important landmark not only for South Africa, but for our Continent as a whole. It was the forerunner of similar bodies in very many other countries of the Continent, movements which led the African revolution, and today take part in African governments.

As a national liberation organisation, the A.N.C. does not represent any single class, or any one ideology. It is representative of all the classes and strata which make up African society in this country. With the advance of members of the working class,

together with revolutionary young intellectuals, to leading positions in the A.N.C., the organisation steadily developed and went forward in its policy and methods of struggle. Congress has steadfastly rejected narrow nationalism, Black chauvinism, anti-Communism and other outlooks which are harmful to the people's cause. It was precisely on these issues that the right-wing Pan-Africanist Congress broke away from the A.N.C. to form a rival organisation. The A.N.C. has formed a firm alliance between itself and patriotic organisations of the Indian and Coloured people, the democratic Europeans and the non-racial Trade Union movement-the Congress Alliance. Even though driven underground since 1960, the A.N.C. has carried on the struggle.

The representative organisation of the Indian people is the South African Indian Congress. For many years, under the leadership of representatives of the wealthy commercial classes, the Indian Congress contented itself with sectional struggles, aimed at maintaining and improving the status of its community alone as a minority group. But, in the middle forties, a dynamic new leadership, representing the mass of exploited Indian workers and peasants, as well as radical intellectuals who had absorbed the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and identified themselves with the working class, pointed out that the future of the Indian community in South Africa was dependent upon the establishment of conditions of true democracy for the country as a whole. The struggle of the Indian people was one with that of the African national movement for freedom and equality for all in this country. This new policy and leadership was accepted by the great majority of the members of the South African Indian Congress, and since that time this Congress has taken full part in the major struggles of the Congress Alliance.

The pioneer Coloured political movement, the African People's Organisation, conducted militant campaigns and pursued a radical united front policy, but this tradition was not maintained. For many years, leadership of the Coloured people's organisations and trade unions was dominated by middle class elements, who either collaborated openly in the maintenance of White supremacy, or - under the cover of wordy denunciations of "Herrenvolkism" - preached a policy of abstention from political activity and hostility to the African national liberation movement. In recent years the Nationalist government's attacks on their longstanding rights have led to a revival of militancy among the Coloured people. The masses of Coloured working people and radical youth are turning increasingly towards the Coloured People's Congress, an ally of the African National Congress.

There has always been a minority of Whites in South Africa who fought against racial oppression and courageously came out for the rights of the oppressed. The African people will never forget the memory of such democrats, Christians, liberals and Communists as van der Kemp, Pringle, Olive and W. P. Schreiner, Ivon Jones

and S. P. Bunting, who swam against the stream of racialism. From its formation in 1953 until it was outlawed in 1962, the Congress of Democrats represented the most advanced and progressive section of the White population. In spite of unceasing persecution by the State which banned and restricted the greater part of its membership, the C.O.D. joined all the major campaigns of the people for freedom, and shared all the trials and tribulations of the other members of the Congress Alliance.

This alliance headed by the African National Congress, which has been joined by the lion-racial Congress of Trade Unions, has adopted a revolutionary democratic programme, emanating from the masses, the Freedom Charter, which envisages profound democratic changes in every field of South Africa's political, social, economical and cultural life. During the grim years of the Nationalist regime, the Congresses have conducted one stirring campaign after another-the May Day and June 26 strikes of 1950 and many general strikes in the years that followed, the campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws and the Congress of the People are examples. In its foreign relations, the Congress Alliance has done much to bring the outrages of apartheid to the attention of the outside world, and to evoke acts of international solidarity which have greatly inspired and encouraged the peoples of our country.

The labour movement of South Africa has reflected, in an especially acute way, the profound international cleavage of the working class between reformists and revolutionaries, social-democrats and Communists. It began almost exclusively as a movement of the White skilled workers. During the first quarter of the present century the White working class fought many a bitter and stirring struggle against the monopoly capitalists. The miners and other White workers of the Witwatersrand formed armed commandos to defend themselves against the attempts of the Smuts government in 1922, to smash their strike by force. But, led by Right-wing renegades from socialism, such as (*erased*) and bribed by concessions and privileges extended to them by the monopolists, the great majority of the White workers repudiated the principles of socialism and working class unity. So far from joining bands with their oppressed and exploited fellow-workers of a dark skin colour, they have turned their backs on them and joined in an alliance with the White capitalists and wealthy farmers to maintain White colonialism and to subjugate and exploit the non-White peoples. The years since 1922 have seen a steady decline in the militancy and class-consciousness of the White workers. The once powerful Labour Party is dead. The White trade unions - with a few honourable exceptions - collaborated in the implementation of apartheid in industry and job reservation. In fact, most of these unions have become little more than societies to preserve a White monopoly of skilled jobs. For the most part, the

White workers of this country support their capitalist rulers and exploiters in the maintenance of White supremacy and colonialism.

The labour laws of South Africa, accepted in the main by the White trade unionists, have compelled the African workers to form their own trade unions. In spite of all the disabilities under which they have to function, these unions have played a notable part in raising the wages and improving the conditions of the workers. They have educated the workers in the spirit of class unity and international solidarity. Following the exclusion of African trade unions from the White-dominated Trade Union Council in 1956, these came together with workers of other races who remained loyal to the principles of trade unionism, to establish the South African Congress of Trade Unions. S.A.C.T.U. has consistently campaigned to organise the hundreds of thousands of unorganised workers, particularly the Africans. It has opposed every manifestation of racialism and White privilege in the economic life of the country and in the trade union movement. It has endorsed the Freedom Charter and played an important part in the Congress Alliance. The Congress of Trade Unions has consistently upheld the principle of working class internationalism as expressed by the World Federation of Trade Unions. It has opposed the efforts of the so-called International Confederation of Free Trade Unions to split the workers' movement in Africa and elsewhere. S.A.C.T.U. is a foundation member of the All-Africa Federation of Trade Unions.

Established on July 29, 1921, the Communist Party of South Africa was the first Marxist-Leninist Party on the African Continent. It was itself based mainly on the International Socialist League, which in 1915, under the leadership of men like Bill Andrews, had broken from the S.A. Labour Party over the issue of opposition to the imperialist war. It spread socialist teachings among the people and strove unceasingly against racialism and for the unity of the working class. It demanded complete freedom and equality for the African and other subject nationalities and led the workers and oppressed people in struggles many of them historic, against pass laws and unemployment, against fascism at home and abroad, and for a democratic South Africa. The Communist Party brought about profound changes in the thinking, political outlook, demands, forms of organisation and methods of struggle of the oppressed and exploited people of this country. Members of the Party worked hard to build up the trade union movement, the African National Congress and other organisations of the people. Hated, slandered and persecuted by the ruling classes, the Party grew to become the outstanding champion of the oppressed and working people in every struggle against exploitation and national oppression. Nevertheless, despite its great achievements and struggles, the Communist Party of South Africa proved incapable of surviving under illegal conditions. Legalistic illusions had penetrated into the ranks of the Party, including its leading personnel. The Party was unprepared and unable to work underground.

These errors culminated in the dissolution of the Party upon the passing of the Suppression of Communism Act by the Nationalist Government in 1950. Under this law hundreds of "listed" Communists were victimised, banned, banished and forced to resign from organisations which they had given their lives to build.

The Nationalists boasted that they had "destroyed Communism in South Africa" it was an idle boast. Defying the Nazi laws of the Nationalists, the most steeled and determined Communists of South Africa came together in 1953 to form the South African Communist Party, to carry forward and raise still higher the banner of the Communist movement under the new and testing conditions of illegality. Combining legal mass work with the illegal work of building the Marxist-Leninist Party as the disciplined vanguard of the fight for freedom, democracy, peace and socialism, the South African Communist Party is the heir to the tradition created by the Communist Party of South Africa. It is a tradition of unflinching struggle against oppression and exploitation, for unity of the workers and freedom-loving people of our country, irrespective of race and colour.

The South African Communist Party is the party of the working class, the disciplined and advanced class which has no property stakes in present-day South Africa and has been the core and inspiration of other classes in every struggle of our time. The working class seeks a close alliance with the rural people, and with the urban middle classes and intellectuals in the national democratic revolution. Only under its leadership can the full aims of the revolution be achieved. It is to enable the working class to fulfill this historic mission that the workers have founded and built their own political party, the South African Communist Party.

The historic task of the Communist Party is the abolition of the capitalist system, and through socialist transformation of the economy of the country, to attain a classless Communist Society. However, At a time when the majority of the people are subject to the most vicious and degrading national oppression, when White colonialist reaction imposes a rule of terror on the whole population and sacrifices the people's living standards on the altar of White supremacy, the central and immediate task of the Communist Party is to lead the fight for the national liberation of the non-White people, and for the victory of the democratic revolution. The Party will strive continuously for the building and strengthening of a united front of national liberation, the unity of Communists and non-Communists, the unity of freedom-loving people of all nationalities and all anti-colonialist classes in the national democratic revolution.

The South African Communist Party is a part of the world Communist movement. It participates in meetings of fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties and abides loyally by their common decisions. True to the principles of working class

internationalism, the Party works for unity of the workers of the whole world, and especially of the Marxist-Leninist parties. The Party works for the unity of all anti-imperialist and sane forces in the world in the life-and-death struggle against a devastating nuclear war, for peaceful co-existence of nations of whatever stage of social development, for universal and complete disarmament. This policy coincides with the fundamental interests of the people of our country. It is in harmony with the aims of the independence and integrity of our country and of all-African co-operation and unity

The structure of the Party is based on the principles of democratic centralism. While demanding strict discipline, the subordination of a minority to the majority and of lower Party organs to higher organs, and the prohibition of all factions within the Party, it upholds the principle of democratic election of all leading organs of the Party, collective leadership and full debate of policy. The curtailment of some aspects of democratic procedure is inevitable under illegal conditions; this temporary situation must be compensated for by all members, regarding it as their duty to participate in the formulation of policy and by the leadership, encouraging and making it possible for them to do so.

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THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

The Nationalist Party, which has governed South Africa since 1948, has brought this country to the verge of revolution. The Afrikaner nationalist movement, which was always corrupted by White chauvinism, has today lost all trace of the anti-imperialist element it once had, during the period of its struggle against British rule. Dominated by the Afrikaner capitalist class and large-scale farmers, the Nationalist Party is controlled by the fascist "Broederbond" secret society. Deeply influenced by the Nazi movement in Germany, it adopted many of Hitler's ideas and worked for a fascist victory in the second world war. The Nationalist Party has become the instrument of the most racialistic and imperialistic sections of the capitalist class. The declaration of a Republic in May 1961 in no way lessened the dependence of the South African economy on British and American finance-capital. The Republic left the British Commonwealth not by choice of the Nationalist government but because the unpopularity of its racial policy among African and Asian member countries faced it with expulsion. In all major questions of international policy the Nationalist government identifies itself with the most aggressive elements of international imperialism in the United States, Britain, France, West Germany and Japan. It is dependent on financial and armaments aid from these countries to maintain its rule in South Africa.

The Nationalist Party relies on violence and terror to maintain itself in office. It has disfranchised the few non-Whites who once enjoyed the vote and otherwise altered the electoral system to ensure that it cannot be removed by Parliamentary means. It has outlawed workers' and liberation organisations, meetings, newspapers and other publications, and resorted to arbitrary bannings, deportations, arrests, confinements and house-arrests of freedom-fighters. It has closed the door to every possibility of peaceful advance of the non-White peoples to social, political and economic rights. It is mobilising and arming the White population for the express purpose of "shooting down the black masses." Already its police have committed massacres of unarmed Africans, such as those of Sharpeville and Langa, which have shocked the whole world. A powerful international movement has developed, supported by African, Asian and socialist governments, for the diplomatic, economic, cultural and sporting isolation of South Africa, and for boycotts and sanctions against the Republic. The policy of the Nationalist government has brought about a state of permanent and deepening crisis in the country.

The other White parliamentary parties can offer no way out of this crisis. The United Party, traditionally the instrument of the gold-mining interests and the English-speaking capitalists, laid the basis for all the excesses of the Nationalists during the many years in which it governed South Africa prior to 1948. As the main "opposition" group in Parliament it has steadily retreated before Nationalist reaction. It is compromised by its own antidemocratic class character and afraid lest genuine opposition to the government might result in disturbances which would adversely affect business and the confidence of foreign investors. It vies with the Nationalists in appealing to the racial prejudices of the White voters. It has actively or passively assisted the Nationalist Party at every stage of its march to fascism.

Disgusted with the surrender of the United Party and alarmed at the dangers to the country's stability and future presented by Nationalist policy, a number of former U.P. M.P.s and members broke away in 1959 to form the Progressive Party. Backed by influential imperialist interests, such as the Oppenheimer mining group, and supported by a section of urban, middle-class Whites, the Progressive Party seeks to avert the coming democratic revolution in South Africa by offering a "qualified" franchise to middle-class non-Whites and concessions to ease the intolerable burden of apartheid.

A more radical tendency among progressive middle-class and intellectual circles is represented by the Liberal Party. This Party proposes a universal franchise, but since it expressly confines itself to "parliamentary and constitutional methods", it suggests no realistic or convincing method to obtain this. Its insistence on anti-Communist and anti-socialist policies and its failure to attack the roots of race-oppression in the economy of the country seriously lessen the Liberal Party's

usefulness and effectiveness. Its adherence to the "West" in the cold war continually conflict with its opposition to the Nationalist government, and make the liberation movement doubt its reliability as an ally in the struggle.

The deep-rooted crisis in South Africa cannot be resolved by the Nationalist government, using methods of force and violence or attempting to deceive home and world opinion with fraudulent schemes of "Bantu self-government" Nor can it be resolved by a mere change of government to another section of the White ruling class which would make superficial concessions while leaving the essence of the colonial system and monopoly control intact. The crisis springs from the fundamental contradictions of South African society: between the oppressed people and their rulers; between South African colonialism and the world-wide movement against colonialism and imperialism; between the working class and the rural masses, together with the middle classes, on the one side, and the handful of monopoly capitalists on the other.

This crisis can only be resolved by a revolutionary change in the social system which will overcome these conflicts by putting an end to the colonial oppression of the African and other non-White people. The immediate and imperative interests of all sections of the South African people demand the carrying out of such a change, a national democratic revolution which will overthrow the colonialist state of White supremacy and establish an independent state of National Democracy in South Africa.

The main content of this revolution is the national liberation of the African people. Its fulfilment is, at the same time, in the deepest interests of the other non-White groups, for in achieving their liberty the African people will at the same time put an end to all forms of racial discrimination. It is in the interests of the White workers, middle class and professional groups to whom the establishment of genuine democracy and the elimination of fascism and monopoly rule offers the only prospect of a decent and stable future.

The main aims and lines of the South African democratic revolution have been defined in the Freedom Charter, which has been endorsed by the African National Congress and the other partners in the national liberation alliance. The Freedom Charter is not a programme for socialism. It is a common programme for a free, democratic South Africa, agreed on by socialists and non-socialists. At the same time, in order to guarantee the abolition of racial oppression and White minority domination, the Freedom Charter necessarily and realistically calls for profound economic changes: drastic agrarian reform to restore the land to the people; widespread nationalisation of key industries to break the grip of White monopoly capital on the main centres of the country's economy; radical improvements in the

conditions and standards of living for the working people. The Communist Party pledges its unqualified support for the Freedom Charter. It considers that the achievement of its aims will answer the pressing and immediate needs of the people and lay the indispensable basis for the advance of our country along non-capitalist lines to a communist and socialist future. To win these aims is the immediate task of all the oppressed and democratic people of South Africa, headed by the working class and its party, the Communist Party.

In their long and difficult struggles the national liberation organisations of South Africa, including the Communist Party, have always sought peaceful methods of struggle. In the past they have counselled non-violent methods not because they are cowardly or believers in pacifist illusions but because they wished to avoid the bitterness and bloodshed of civil war. But the ruling class has invariably replied to non-violence with violence; to peaceful protests with suppression and police massacres of unarmed men, women and children. The Nationalist government has closed, or is closing, every channel of legal protest and normal political activity. It is openly preparing for civil war.

In the face of these provocations, the liberation movement has had to reconsider its attitude towards "non-violence" as a universal principle. The patience of the people is not endless. They are determined to win freedom in our lifetime. They would prefer to achieve their liberation by non-violent means. But today they are left with no alternative but to defend themselves and hit back; to meet violence with violence. The Nationalists are forcing a solution upon South Africa in which patriots and democrats will take up arms to defend themselves, organise guerilla armies and undertake various acts of armed resistance, culminating in a mass insurrection against White domination. In such a conflict, however long and costly, the fighters for freedom must win, for they will enjoy the support of the overwhelming majority of the people of our country and the whole world.

The Communist Party considers that the slogan of "non-violence" is harmful to the cause of the democratic national revolution in the new phase of the struggle, disarming the people in the face of the savage assaults of the oppressor, dampening their militancy, undermining their confidence in their leaders. At the same time, the Party opposes undisciplined acts of individual terror. It rejects theories that all non-violent methods of struggle are useless or impossible, and will continue to advocate and work for the use of all forms of struggle by the people, including non-collaboration, strikes, boycotts and demonstrations.

The Party does not dismiss all prospects of non-violent transition to the democratic revolution. This prospect will be enhanced by the development of revolutionary and militant people's forces. The illusion that the White minority can rule forever over a

disarmed majority will crumble before the reality of an armed and determined people. The crisis in the country, and the contradictions in the ranks of the ruling class, will deepen. The possibility would be opened of a peaceful and negotiated transfer of power to the representatives of the oppressed majority of the people.

Whether its end is brought about through such a peaceful transition or by insurrection, the vicious type of colonialism embodied in the present Republic of South African cannot long endure. Its downfall and the victory of the South African democratic revolution are certain in the near future.

The Communist Party unreservedly supports and participates in the struggle for national liberation headed by the African National Congress in alliance with the S.A. Indian Congress, the Congress of Trade Unions, the Coloured People's Congress and other patriotic groups of democrats, women, peasants and youth. With them, it demands the immediate summoning of a sovereign national convention to draw up and promulgate the constitution of a state of national democracy in South Africa. It considers that it is important and urgent for all the forces and movements for freedom to agree upon all their main goals and aims at this time.

It is in this situation that the Communist Party advances its immediate proposals before the workers and democratic people of South Africa. These are not proposals for a socialist state. They are proposals for the building of a national democratic state. These proposals are put forward within the framework of the Freedom Charter which the Party considers to be suitable as a general statement of the aims of a state of national democracy. Our proposals are not directed towards communists and socialists alone, but are submitted as a basis for discussion for all democratic and patriotic people, and in particular for members and supporters of the national liberation and trade union movements.

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IMMEDIATE PROPOSALS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

• State Structure

The Party stands for a unitary South African state with a Republican form of government. All local and national representatives in legislative bodies should be subjected both to election and recall by universal, equal, direct, adult franchise, without regard to race, colour, sex or property, educational or other qualifications whatsoever. The Party declares that the revolutionary people of South Africa cannot merely take over existing State and government institutions designed to maintain colonialism, but must destroy them and create new people's institutions in their place. The Senate and all institutions based on property or other undemocratic qualifications must be abolished.

New territorial administrative regions should be established, enjoying full powers of local government corresponding to the progressive traditions and the wishes of the people of each area, but conforming to the overall character and laws of the people's democratic state.

Every vestige of apartheid and racial discrimination should scrupulously be removed from every field of state service and public life. Every rank of the Civil Service, of the army, navy and air force, of the judiciary, police, municipal services and other public institutions should be open to all South Africans. The aim of the state should be to replace all officials who are disloyal to democratic non-racial principles. Special measures should be taken rapidly to promote African and other non-White personnel, so as to ensure that all state institutions are fully representative of the nature of the population of South Africa.

● **Civil Rights and State Security**

The state must guarantee the fullest liberty of speech and thought, of the press and of organisation, of conscience and religion, to all citizens. The people's freedom of movement must be guaranteed. Racialistic and counterrevolutionary propaganda must be forbidden. People must be free to discuss and debate all schools of democratic and progressive opinion.

In order to preserve and extend the gains of the revolution, particularly in the conditions of South Africa, the utmost vigilance must be exercised against those who would seek to organise counter-revolutionary plots, intrigues and sabotage, against all attempts to restore White colonialism and destroy democracy.

While extending the greatest measure of democracy to the people, and ensuring their fullest participation in the public life of the country, a vigorous and vigilant dictatorship must be maintained by the people against the former dominating and exploiting classes. Towards this end, the Party will propose the disbandment of the police and military forces maintained by White colonialism. A new people's militia and people's liberation army; composed of and led by trusted representatives of the people, must be created.

The Party will work unceasingly to oppose the development of any form of cult of individual leadership, of illegal and arbitrary methods, or of misuse of power in any way. It will uphold proper legal and judicial procedures, and fight to protect the security of the citizen, the inviolability of his home, his privacy and his correspondence.

● **Economic Development**

In order to ensure the rapid development of South Africa as a well balanced industrial-agricultural country, overcoming the lopsidedness caused by colonialism, to abolish unemployment, and to ensure continuously rising material and cultural standards of the people, the Party advocates the large-scale, planned development of the economy of the country, controlled and directed by the state.

In order to ensure South Africa's independence, the Party will press for the strengthening of the state sector of the economy, particularly in the fields of heavy industry, machine tool building and fuel production. It will seek to place control of the vital sectors of the economy in the hands of the national democratic state and to correct historic injustice, by demanding the nationalisation of the mining industry, banking and monopoly industrial establishments, thus also laying the foundations for the advance to socialism.

At the same time, the state should protect the interests of private business where these are not incompatible with the public interest. It should offer assistance, by way of state loans, to non-monopolist producers, in return for a state share in their undertakings, thus paving the way for a gradual and peaceful transition to socialism.

The state should encourage and develop the initiative, talents and crafts of the people and provide opportunities and the fullest encouragement for those who show inventiveness, mechanical skill and other socially useful talents.

● **Agriculture**

In order to rally the support of the great masses of rural people, to raise their living and cultural standards and to rectify the injustices committed by the colonialists in seizing most of the land of South Africa, the revolutionary state must take immediate and drastic measures to restore the land to the people. The Reserve system, and any laws restricting land ownership on a racial basis, must be abolished.

All land must immediately be confiscated which is in the hands of financial monopolies and land speculators, absentee-owners, farmers who use convict labour or indentured compound labour, and other idlers, exploiters and parasites who allow the land to lie idle while the masses starve. This confiscated land must be placed in the hands of those who live and work upon the land. At the same time, the state should guarantee security of tenure to peasant farmers and smallholders who fruitfully cultivate the land by their own labour. All agricultural land transactions should be regulated to avoid accumulation of land once again in the hands of the rich.

Radical reform must be undertaken in regard to all communally-held and tribally-held lands, with respect to land tenure and social relationships. Backward tribal and other relationships should be replaced by democratic institutions. Special attention should be given to building industries in these areas, electric power stations, modern roads and railways, and all other things required to enable them soon to catch up with the economic and cultural development of the rest of the country. Advanced and efficient agricultural methods and techniques should be introduced.

The state should encourage the widespread development of democratically administered co-operative and collective farms rather than individual peasant smallholdings. Vigorous measures should be taken to mechanise and electrify farming operations, to conserve water supplies and create large-scale irrigation schemes, to encourage scientific livestock breeding and the diversification of crops. The state should aim at the development of a prosperous cultured and progressive rural community, close in its standards of living and education, social outlook and interests, to the people of the towns and cities.

● **Labour and Social Welfare**

As the party of the working class, the Communist Party demands the protection and substantial advancement of the workers' standards of living, housing, working conditions, wages, leisure and recreation. It proposes that all workers, including farm, mine and domestic workers, be entitled to full trade union rights and the protection of labour laws, including a national minimum wage, annual paid holidays, sick leave unemployment and workmen's compensation benefits for all, and adequate safety regulations in all mines, factories, farms and other places of work.

The Party demands that the state provide special protection for women workers, the removal of all restrictions against married women employees, and the provision of adequate maternity leave before and after birth. The Party will fight for full and equal rights for women in every aspect of state, social and private life. It will work for the elimination of polygamy. It will fight vigorously against all vestiges and manifestations of contempt for or unequal treatment of women, or their being regarded as mere cooks, domestic servants, nannies and housekeepers. It will fight for the admission of women on an equal basis to every sphere of state, industrial, commercial, agricultural, scientific, academic and professional life.

The Party proposes that a state medical service be instituted providing free preventative and curative medical and health services to all, including hospitals, medicines, spectacles, dentures and all other aspects of a comprehensive health service.

The Party proposes the provision of free meals at school to all children: that all workers be guaranteed cheap transport to and from work and that the state provide adequate pensions, without discrimination, to all old people. It demands adequate allowances for all who are unemployed, disabled, orphaned, or otherwise unable to earn a living.

The Party demands the abolition of all residential segregation and the provision of adequate housing for all, with special attention to the needs of those living in slums.

● **Education**

There must be no segregation in education. All children must receive free primary and secondary education from the state. Standards of education must be the same for all children, irrespective of race, home language or economic status, and designed to develop citizens imbued with a love of their people, their country and humanity.

There must be equal opportunities for all to receive higher education and specialised technical training. however, in order to correct the legacy of colonialism, priority must be given to the training of African and other non-White specialists in every field.

The state must organise a campaign among the masses for the complete elimination of adult illiteracy.

All teachers must be guaranteed decent standards of living and the right to take part in public life. They must be enabled to attain the highest qualifications and their remuneration and promotion must be on the basis of qualifications and merit alone.

● **National Rights**

In view of the ravages wrought by the White colonialists, the Party demands exceptional measures to uphold the rights, dignity, culture and self-respect of all national groups inhabiting our country.

All languages used by the people of South Africa should enjoy equal rights and status. In local administrative regions, organs of local government, laws, and courts, the language used should normally be that spoken by the majority of people in that region.

The state should encourage in particular the unity of the African people and foster the spirit of unity of all South Africans. At the same time it should encourage and stimulate the development of healthy, non-antagonistic national consciousness and

legitimate pride among all sections of the people. It should encourage the development of national cultures, art and literature.

While standing for a united South African state, the Party recognises the rights of all national groups in the country to develop and to determine their own future. To enable these rights to be realised, the Party demands the abolition of the Reserve system and the even development of agriculture, industry and communications throughout South Africa.

Freedom of movement must be an inviolable right of all citizens and all citizens must enjoy equal rights and status in every part of the country.

Vigorous measures must be taken to train and promote non-Whites, especially Africans, as managers and directors of industrial, agricultural, mining and commercial enterprises; as professors, doctors, chemists, architects, scientists and engineers; as leading personnel of every sort.

While regarding as its main task in the sphere of national rights, as being to correct the injustice and crime perpetrated against the African majority, the state must also safeguard and guarantee the rights of minority groups, whether of European, Coloured, Indian, Chinese or any other descent. The state must protect the rights of all citizens equally, and vigorously oppose and suppress all senseless acts of revenge which have their roots in the past. All manifestations of racialism, including the use of derogatory terms to designate people of various national groups must be prohibited by law.

● Foreign Relations

The national democratic state of South Africa should be fully independent. It should base its policy on the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. South Africa should aim to strengthen the United Nations and make it more democratic and effective as an instrument of peace. It should work for universal disarmament and the abolition of war as a means of settling disputes between nations.

South Africa should not join any imperialist military alliance or power bloc, or allow imperialist bases to be set up on its territory.

A democratic South Africa should aim at the closest and most fraternal relationships between all African states, towards a united Africa.

Democratic South Africa must seek the closest and most brotherly relations upon: a basis of complete equality between our country and its neighbouring territories of

South West Africa, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, Mozambique and Rhodesia. It must proclaim and scrupulously observe the right of self-determination and independence of South West Africa, Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland.

A free South Africa will render every assistance to all other Africans in their struggles to liberate themselves from colonialism.

A democratic South African state should enter into diplomatic, cultural, commercial and economic arrangements with all countries, irrespective of their social system, seek to conclude equal and mutually beneficial agreements with them and to strengthen the ties of friendship and brotherhood amongst the peoples of the whole world.

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